DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 433 403 UD 033 091

AUTHOR Lemelle, Anthony J., Jr.
TITLE Do Black Male Adolescent Reproductive Attitudes and Emotions about Roles Differ from White Males? Association of Dichotomous Variables.
PUB DATE 1999-08-00
NOTE 22p.; An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (Chicago, IL, August 1999).
CONTRACT 5-T32-DA07233-09
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; *Blacks; *Males; National Surveys; *Racial Differences; Sex Role; *Sexuality; Social Class; *Student Attitudes; Urban Youth; Whites
IDENTIFIERS *Masculinity

ABSTRACT

This study investigated differences in attitudes and emotions of black and white adolescent males on four items constructed to measure conventional and compulsive (deviant) masculinity. After reporting the theoretical perspectives, the article presents cross-tabulations of responses to attitude and emotion questions from the National Survey of Adolescent Males for 1,880 adolescents. Comparisons of the socioeconomic status of the black and white adolescents are also presented. Results indicate that black males do not meet the deviancy expectation suggested by the theories. On each of the attitude and emotion questions, black and white adolescents were significantly different, but black adolescent males did not have more negative and pathological attitudes about reproductive behaviors. Social class categories also were associated with significantly different responses. (Contains 6 tables and 50 references.) (Author/SLD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 433 403

Do Black Male Adolescent Reproductive Attitudes and Emotions about Roles Differ from White Males? Association of Dichotomous Variables

Anthony J. Lemelle, Jr.
Purdue University
National Development and Research Institutes, Inc.
Medical and Health Research Association of New York City, Inc.

Anthony J. Lemelle, Jr.
National Development and Research Institutes, Inc.
Two World Trade Center, 16th Floor
New York, NY 10048
(212) 845-4596
lemelle@sri.soc.purdue.edu

[1] An earlier version of this paper was prepared for the American Sociological Association meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 1999. This research was conducted in part while the author was a senior postdoctoral fellow in the Behavioral Sciences Training in Drug Abuse Research Program sponsored by Medical and Health Research Association of New York City, Inc. and National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. with funding from the National Institute on Drug Abuse (5 T32 DA07233-09). I am grateful to Greg Falkin and Terry Rosenberg of MHRA and NDRI for their comments. Also, to Behavioral Sciences Training Fellows for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. Points of view and opinions in this paper do not necessarily represent the official positions of the United States Government, Medical and Health Research Association of New York City, Inc., and National Development and Research Institutes, Inc. All positions and errors is the author's alone.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Anthony Lemelle, Jr

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

- A This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- ☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
- • Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

UD 033091

Abstract

Reproductive attitudes and emotions of black males have seldom been empirically examined in the context of prevailing theories of masculinity. Even more rare are studies that point to specific differences between black and white male adolescents on questions that are associated with greater social deviancy. This article investigates differences in attitudes and emotions of black and white adolescent males on four items constructed to measure conventional and compulsive (deviant) masculinity. After reporting the theoretical perspectives, the article presents crosstabulations of responses to attitude and emotion questions from the National Survey of Adolescent Males (N=1880). Comparisons of socioeconomic statuses of the black and white adolescents are also presented. Results indicate that black males do not meet the deviancy expectation found in the theories. On each of the attitude and emotion questions, black and white adolescents were significantly different. Social class categories also resulted in black and white adolescents' response to be significantly different.

Reproductive values resulting in out of wedlock pregnancy among black male adolescents is a major social problem, yet we have limited conceptual understanding of the imitation of these circumstances. Many studies completely or partially address black male sexual attitudes and behaviors, and they offer extensive common sense into the dynamic of premarital sex and teenage pregnancies. The various approaches are not systematically theorized and this has led to differing, controversial, assessments of African-American culture and their "families" of procreation. Usually the study of male roles has adopted two broad theoretical approaches to male gender role: trait perspectives and normative perspectives (Pleck, Sonenstein and Ku 1993). The trait perspectives are concerned with acceptance of the masculine role in U.S. culture. The normative perspectives are concerned with the belief that culturally prescribed masculinity norms should have the trait characteristics. This latter view has been referred to as the masculinity ideology (Pleck, Sonenstein and Ku 1993, p. 12). Several scholars have raised an additional problematic, namely, that normative roles are socially constructed and black male roles are differently constructed than are white males (Lemelle 1995(a); Loeber 1996; Mercer 1993).

This study is preliminary and examines the attribution of the masculinity ideology on black males and their sexual roles. Masculinity ideology refers to beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards for male behavior. The construct is operationalized by measures of attitudes toward the male gender role. The attribution of black male gender role refers to differential cultural expectations for black males to internalize "deviant" values, that will be called compulsive masculinity in this study, in the context of diachronic and synchronic racial structures (Lemelle 1995(b); Lemelle 1996). These attributions are in theories. I first briefly discuss how prevailing perspectives on the black male gender role, particularly reproductive values, have interpreted the link between black masculinity and deviancy. I develop the concept of black masculinity ideology and present data concerning the association between black masculinity ideology and characteristics of black and white adolescent males' attitudes and emotions that questions the deviancy assumptions. Finally, I consider implications of the results for gender studies.

The Plight of Black Male Reproductive Roles

Black Male Reproductive Identity

The construct of black masculinity and traditional male reproductive roles should be considered in

terms of racial relations. For one, behaviors of black males have consistently been viewed as different, more aggressive sexual behaviors, and more intense sexual experiences (Staples 1982). Behaviorally speaking, research has shown that black males dating, marriage and family behaviors are for the most part different from white male roles. For example, black males begin sexual activity at an earlier age than white males (Rotherman-Borus and Koopman 1991; Peplau, Rubin and Hill 1977; Samuels 1977; Sonenstein, Pleck and Ku 1989). And black males more frequently participate in unconventional sexual behavior (Samuels 1977). Samuels continues, among black men, socioeconomic status is positively related to participation in conventional and unconventional sex, and sexual attitudes. It is not related to age of first intercourse. Religiosity and socioecoromic status correlate more with sexual attitudes than race. Socioeconomic status is a more important factor in sexual behaviors of blacks than whites (Samuels 1977).

In contrast to white males, black males have been viewed as lacking masculinity resulting from their feminization (Hare and Hare 1984; Moynihan 1965; Pleck 1981, 1983). According to such theories that are largely psychological, the acquisition of gender role identity in black males is prevented by relative absence of male models, feminized environments in homes and schools, overbearing feminine relationships with black women resulting in the widespread inability of black males to play the part of men. Black males score "feminine" on dichotomous masculinity-femininity scales and other measures of sex typing that view masculinity and femininity as opposites ends on a single dimension (Kagan and Moss 1962). This is extended to sociological perspectives. For example, black males are consistently measured as unmarriageable in large part because of their social inability to perform traditional masculinity expectations. Darity and Myers (1995) report the impact of a depleting supply of marriageable black men on family structure using data from the 1976 and 1985 Current Population Surveys. They compare various indicators of male availability as predictors of female headship among blacks and whites. They also test the idea that welfare payments and sex ratio explain marital decline. They suggest three policy options of direct short-term benefit: transfer payments and policies designed to elevate the income of the poor; improvement of the health care of poor women and their children; and improvement in the education of the underclass.

Black males experience lower marriage and remarriage rates, higher divorce rates, and higher rates of unmarried childbearing than whites (Dickson 1993). Dickson (1993) finds those economic shifts and trends that allow more black females, but fewer black males, to work is a major factor. In addition, black

males are also viewed as engaging in passively escapist behaviors that results in aggravating an unequal sex ratio. Such "unmanly traits" produces black male incarceration, drug abuse, homicide and interracial dating patterns that effect a greater reduced pool of eligible males (Staples 1982). Dickson also reports gender stereotyping and differential gender role expectations as factors contributing to marriage patterns. Staples (1982) adds that many males are loss for marriage because of homosexuality.

There has been little theoretical effort to avoid essentializing and universalizing male attitudes and emotions. While Pleck (1981) stresses that cultural attitudes about masculinity have changed over time, the black father absence theories (for a review see, Adams, Milner, and Schrepf 1984; Stevenson 1991) and the overbearing black mother theories (for a review see, Collins 1990; Jewell 1993) are as prevalent as ever.

Masculine Gender-related Personality Traits

Another theoretical approach to the male role highlights the agglomeration of traits that appear more in males. These approaches are opertionalized by various sub-scales in measures such as Bem (1974) Sex Role Inventory and Spence and Helmreich's (1978) Personal Attributes Questionnaire. Such scales have resulted in constructing measures of gender role orientation (Lenney 1991; Spence 1992). In short, the male gender role is conceptualized based on correlates of masculine gender-related traits in male samples. These studies measured males that were high and low in masculinity and femininity (Bem 1975) and correlates between males' aggression and date rapes (Thompson 1990). Hypermasculinity became a central concern of the gender-related personality traits, particularly as it relates to date rape and other aggressive sexual behaviors (Mosher 1991). These scales are highly biased toward traits culturally constructed for white males. Consequently they systematically view black male attitudes and roles in terms of greater deviancy.

Two Explanations of the Cultural Reproduction of Adolescent Black Male Reproductive Roles

Masculinity Ideology and Cultural Traits

For my analysis I will stress two explanations that assist in understanding adolescent black masculinity and reproductive roles. Kimmel and Messner (1989) and Pleck, Sonenstein and Ku (1993) presented the social constructions approach to gender that prompts my response. They have also conceptualized in differing ways, gender role strain. What is important about their contributions is that they

see masculinity as a cultural construction rather than a psychologically (or biologically) fixed characteristic. However, these approaches divorce black masculinity from the cultural history of race producing racialized normative structure. In this study I want to stress cultural normative structure by asking if black males live up to theoretical expectations of deviancy. There were two contributions to the discussion of the normative structure deviancy attribution of black male reproductive attitudes. The first is James B. Stewart and Joseph W. Scott's (1978) explanation of the institutional decimation of black American males. The second is Eiljah Anderson's (1989) explanation of sex codes and family life among poor inner-city youths. In many ways both approaches intersect in spite of their major differences in focus. Therefore, Stewart and Scott conclude, "[T]he processes we have described are also directed toward the Black female, the Black family, and other institutions indigenous to Black communities…To the extent that familial relationships among Blacks are in a constant state of flux as a result of externally imposed constraints, stable patterns of community will remain an unrealized ideal" (p. 91). Anderson's conclusion is similar, "In this inner-city culture, people generally get married for 'love' and 'to have something.' This mind-set presupposes a job, the work ethic, and perhaps most of all, a persistent sense of hope for, if not a modicum of belief in, an economic future…[S]o for many of those who are caught up in the web of persistent urban poverty and become unwed mothers and fathers, there is little hope for a good job and even less for a future of conventional family life" (pp. 77-78).

Stewart and Scott

Stewart and Scott were interested in an earlier question posed by sociologist Jacquelyne Jackson (1971) when she asked where are the men. Jackson's observation was initiated by the dismal ratio of black males to females. Answering the question proved to be disturbing for Stewart and Scott when they found that "American society…systematically remove Black males from the civilian population" (p. 82). Stewart and Scott refer to the systematic population transfer of black males as institutional decimation. According to the authors, the main social function of the decimation process is to contain black resistance against an illegitimate racialized socioeconomic order. In addition, the decimation process assists in managing the population ratio between black and white males. This latter function is needed because of higher probable fertility among black females. Finally on the subject of the functions of institutional decimation the authors assert that it effects community instability. For them, "instability is a control mechanism which draws

attention away from the forces shaping patterns of oppression in predominantly Black communities" (p. 84).

According to the authors, the main institution frustrating black male quality of life is the labor market. The unemployment rate has consistently had a negative impact on black males. In addition, young black males experience the highest unemployment and wage discrimination when compared to middle age and elderly black males. Black males also experience utterly more unemployment than the black population as a whole. Most black males live in urban areas where the unemployment rate among them is substantial (Wilson 1992; Wilson 1997). Aside for the unemployment rates, black males have greater experience with unemployment events in a specific time period. This is largely because they are disproportionately over-represented in the secondary labor market where there are greater dead-end, seasonal, part-time, non-benefits and lacking career lines jobs. In addition, black males are disproportionately over-concentrated in particular low-status occupations. For example, "the job most typically offered to uneducated and young black males is that of the minimum wage security guard" (Staples 1991, p. 53).

Black male labor market frustration is also experienced in terms of not having authority on the job (Smith 1992). Yet, even when black males acquire jobs they are paid less than white males with comparable education and seniority (Bladwin and Johnson 1996). Stewart and Scott point out that black male institutional decimation structured in the labor market impacts dating and family organization. The most obvious impact is that more persons must work in black families. In addition, marriage typically occurs later in life for blacks than whites. One consequence is that substantially more black families have female head of households than white families. Someone other than the male head is more typically in the labor market as the primary family breadwinner. Because of job instability among many black males there is a greater reliance in black families on public assistance.

Stewart and Scott continue that there have been three major channels for black males realizing their institutional decimation. They are military service, jails and prisons and early deaths. Blacks systematically fail military entrance at significantly higher rates than whites. The intelligence test given by the military accounts for much of that failure. Those blacks that entered the military did so for the most part to initiate self-advancement. At the same time, the military separates black males from the civilian population. In the military, black males are over-represented in "combat and service work and

underrepresented in technical occupations" (p. 88). The consequence of channeling black males into the military is to increase the need for public assistance among the black population. Most black males become unemployable in the primary labor market after military service.

In the military and out of it, black males face higher odds of criminal trial and incarceration. Incarceration in the military lengthens military stay. Likewise, among the civilian population, blacks receive longer sentences for the same offense than whites. Arrest, incarceration, probation and parole separate the black male population from the black community. It increases dependence on public assistance. In addition, it reduces the employability and future income of black males. And it degrades black male citizenship and voting rights.

Inequality in health care delivery is a major source of early black male deaths. Black males are systematically directed into inferior clinics that do not use the most recent diagnostics and treatments. Black males experience disproportionately higher morbidity and mortality rates. They have less life expectancy than black females, white males and females.

Taken all together, Stewart and Scott conclude that

> Until the decimation process can be effectively thwarted, the central focus of individual and collective activities of blacks will continue to be survival and reaction, as opposed to development and innovation. If the decimation process continues to go unchecked, then the Black male will not survive, let alone be in a situation to serve as an anchor in the development process. If the institutional decimation of the Black male is not halted, we can expect to witness the progressive genocide of Black culture and community. (p. 91)

Anderson

Anderson was particularly concerned with sex codes and reproductive behaviors among poor inner-city youths. This implies that he privileged class in his qualitative analysis. In addition, he was focused on the peer groups that unwed parents identified with as significant others, as part of their family of procreation socialization. Anderson posits "The lack of family-sustaining jobs or job prospects denies young men the possibility of forming economically self-reliant families, the traditional American mark of manhood" (p. 59). For Anderson, a "sexual game" develops where boys lure girls into sex by promising untenable relationships. The girls are excited and duped by such promises. They desire middle-class marriage and family organization and feel that they must trap the boys into accepting the middle-class family values. The girls think in terms of establishing their own households. In many cases, the boys see an

opportunity to exploit the girls' desires by using them for free shelter. Girls often feel that if they become pregnant the boys will be forced to "settle down" and accept the middle-class family organization.

Sex becomes a part of the culture of poverty for inner-city boys. For many boys, sex becomes a symbol of social status. "Status goes to the winner, and sex becomes prized not so much as a testament of love but as testimony of control of another human being. Sex is the prize and sexual conquests are a game, the object of which is to make a fool of the other person, particularly the young woman" (p. 61). It then becomes important for young males to make the most attractive presentation to maintain conquest over any number of girls. Anderson identified this as the game where "getting over" and "looking fine" requires exaggerated grooming. Boys must also have a competitive conversation that relays a message of self-confidence and control over the mating situation. The boy wants sex:

> ...and after he gets what he wants, he may cast down [an "upstanding young man"]...part of his presentation and reveal something of his true self, as he reverts to those actions and behavior more characteristic of his everyday life, those centered around his peer group. (p. 62)

Anderson argues that the girls who are hoping against hope that their boyfriends will somehow be different. This protects the duplicity of the boys. The tricks the boys use include breaking the girls' spirit. The more exploitative the boys are toward the girls, the more social status they gain. Much of this status is peer-group status. Any boy who challenges the values of the institution of the sex codes will be perceived as weak and lacking in true black manhood.

When it comes to pregnancy, Anderson argues that the peer-group ethic can be summed up in the phrase "hit and run." It is important for the boys to subordinate girls without becoming committed to them. It is social suicide to be perceived as taking care of someone. When girls become pregnant the boys must deny that they are responsible for the pregnancy. In order to rationalize this aspect of the game the boys promote an ideology that the female cannot be trusted and is valueless:

> Another important attitude of the male peer group is that most girls are whores: "If she was fucking you, then she was fucking everybody else." Whether there is truth to this with respect to a particular case, a common working conception says it is true about young women in general. It is a view with which so many young men approach females, relegating them to a situation of social and moral deficit. The proverbial double standard is at work, and for any amount of sexual activity, the women are more easily discredited than the men [are]. (p. 66)

The pregnancy relationship is one of structured ambivalence. On the one hand the boys want to admit paternity and fairly treat the girls. This will of course be treated negatively by their peer groups. On the other hand, if the boys admit paternity they will become financially responsible for support of a family.

Anderson argues that the mixed message results in the boys distancing themselves from the expectant mothers. They will become less close to the mothers after a pregnancy is revealed. While some young men will attempt to accede to the young women's middle-class expectations, they will have trouble sustaining the trauma of youthful pregnancy without gainful employment. Without such support, young men will come to feel trapped and tricked by the young women.

Another irony that Anderson argues is that fathering is clearly a symbol of heterosexuality and masculinity for the young men. It is an important part of the ritual for generalized others to convince the boys to accept fatherhood and become honest men. Mothers, grandmothers and aunts do not only do this. The girls' fathers also defend their daughters caught in the premarital pregnancy situation. What is more, uncles, cousins, and friends of the family often exercise influence through the ritual. Boys will have to manage their relationships with some care since the extended kin of cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents, nieces, and nephews can represent a formidable force against a youth facing teenage pregnancy. This impacts the young women too. Anderson argues that "the prospect of a regular welfare check can seem like an improvement":

> Hence, among many young poor ghetto women, babies have become a sought-after symbol of status, of passage to adulthood, of being a "grown" woman. In such circumstances, babies can become valued emblems of womanhood. (p. 69)

Anderson reasons that "Young men without job prospects cling to support offered by their peer groups and their mothers and shy from lasting relationships with girlfriends" (p. 76). In addition, he proffers that the relationships that are culturally reproduced among inner-city youths "may not differ fundamentally from those expressed by young people of other social settings" (p. 76). However, the social, economic and personal consequence of the inner-city classes significantly differs from other classes of youths. Added to social, economic and personal differences is the difference in level of education among the urban poor. For Anderson, inner-city girls demonstrate "ignorance" about their bodies. They do not understand birth control and their elders are reticent to discuss sex with them. What is more, is that the "fundamentalist religious orientation" that is highly prevalent in inner-city communities shuns talk about sex and abortion. In fact, such religions view children as "a gift."

Hypotheses

Theoretical analyses of the male gender role and past research provide a basis for hypotheses

about the association between masculinity ideology and black males' reproductive attitudes and emotions. Theoretical analyses implies that black male gender roles have greater deviancy associated with them when compared to white males. These analyses generally postulate that the black male role relies on greater value stretch (Rodman 1963) while black males are expected to strive for the Brannon (1976) four thematic values of the universal male role: that they limit emotional expression and involvement, that they control others in social relations, that they separate sex from intimacy, and that they use power and avoidance strategies in their intimate relationships. Stewart and Scott viewed the limitation of emotional expression and involvement as the effect of institutional processes. Anderson viewed the four thematic characteristics as inherent in adolescent boys and more prominent in lower class black males. Contrary to Stewart and Scott, Anderson appears to downplay the racism factor.

In the present study I hypothesize that among adolescent males, traditional masculinity ideology will be different for black and white youths. Black adolescents are theoretically expected to score more deviants on four items intended to measure emotional expression and involvement, control of others, separation of sex and intimacy, and use of power and avoidance related to reproductive behaviors. These characteristics are derived from the literature suggested since the ideology of responsible males is contrary to traditional male ideology. If traditional males have attitudes reflecting Brannon's and Pleck, Sonenstein and Ku's characteristic themes, the community consistently promotes values of individual responsibility related to reproductive roles (see, Collins 1998; Gilkes 1994). The individual responsibility values include respect for others, taking responsibility for intimate actions, avoiding sexual relations until marriage, and sharing and caring for the emotional and physical well being of others. Churches, schools and families presumably promote these values.

Method

Data Source

The National Survey of Adolescent Males (NSAM) is a longitudinal panel study, wave 1 in 1988 and wave 2 in 1990-1991, including 1,880 never-married males between 15-19 years of age. The sample represents the non-institutionalized never-married male population in the contiguous United States. The sample was stratified to over-represent Black and Hispanic respondents, and in-person interviews averaging 75 minutes were completed with 676 young, black, non-Hispanic men, 386 young Hispanic men, 755

young white, non-Hispanic men, and 63 respondents in other racial groupings. The response rate for those eligible to be interviewed was 73.9 percent. The analysis here uses the valid cases of black and white males (N=1264-1277) responding to 4 attitudinal emotional items.

Measures

Black Male Role Attitudes. Four items were selected for crosstabulation comparing black male attitudes about reproductive behaviors with white males. The works of Stewart and Scott and Anderson theoretically guided the selection of these items. It is hypothesized that black adolescent males will have more compulsive masculine attitudes about reproductive behaviors. I borrowed the concept compulsive masculine attitudes from Oliver (1994), a male presents "oneself as tough, require that males structure their behavior to give the impression that they are independent, always in control, and emotionally detached" (p. 28). This definition confirms Majors and Billson's (1992) conception of "cool pose." Compulsive masculine attitudes differ from conventional masculine attitudes. Conventional masculine attitudes correspond to Kimmel's (1996) definition of the normal American male "a history of that 'complete' male that Goffman describes—straight, white, middle class, native-born— the story of his great accomplishments and his nagging anxieties" (p. 6). Each variable is dichotomized to produce 2 X 2 tables for each of the four items. The dichotomy constructs conventional and compulsive responses to each item. The first item asked if pregnancy would make the respondent feel like a real man. It is assumed that unmarried males in adolescent years should respond that the function of pregnancy is not to make them feel like men in the conventional sense of the norm. The second item asks that if a girl became pregnant by him would he feel greater distance from her. Here males are expected respond that they would share the emotional trauma of a premarital pregnancy. The next item asks if there was a premarital pregnancy for which he was responsible, would he feel good about it. The assumption is that an adolescent should feel shame for a premarital pregnancy since he would not be prepared to play the provider role. The final item ask if the male feels he should take responsibility for avoiding pregnancies by helping pay for birth control. The expected response is that the male would feel responsible if he were to have premarital sex, avoiding the exploitation of his sexual partner. A conventional response is one that reflects community values of social responsibility, caring and sharing. Each conventional response is coded 0. A compulsive response is one that reflects the theoretical expectations of black male deviancy, that they are "players of women," "tough guys" and "thrill

seekers" (Oliver 1994). A compulsive masculinity response is coded 1.[1] A phi coefficient (Ø) and significance level is reported for each table.

The analysis includes crosstabulations of "lower-class" males compared to middle and upper class males. The question is whether lower class black males significantly differ from middle and upper class black males in terms of compulsive masculine attitudes as measured by these four variables. Respondents are considered lower class if their reported family income for the year prior to baseline interview was less than $20,000.

Results

(Insert Tables 1-5 about here)

Knowing the race of the adolescent does not increase predictiveness. In fact, the lambda statistic for each of the four attitudinal items when they are treated as the dependent variable is 0. Black males' notion of manhood is more associated with procreation than is white males. This finding is statistically significant and is presented in Table 2. It confirms Oliver's (1994) qualitative observations that black males associate greater importance to manhood as heterosexuality. Table 3 presents a weaker statistical significance compared to the others. It shows that Black males in this sample did not meet the theoretical expectation of adhering to hypersexual attitudes as suggested by Staples (1982) and Anderson (1989). In fact, Anderson observed that the boys would distance themselves from the girls once they became pregnant. There are two caveats that must be raised. The boys are reporting their attitudes. Anderson reported behavioral observations. It is very likely that once in the situation of having impregnated an adolescent peer, boys will distance themselves from the girls, as Anderson argues. Second, Anderson's observation was of lower class boys. These tables report all boys in the sample. Nonetheless, it is interesting that 15 percent of white males reported the compulsive masculinity attitude compared to 10 percent of the black males.

Black males demonstrated a stronger attitude toward the meaning of children when compared to white males in the sample. Table 4 shows that 37 percent of the black males compared to 17 percent of the white males would feel good about premarital pregnancy. This finding confirms Anderson's observations that black males are more likely to view children as a gift. It is clear that the norm forbidding adolescent pregnancy is different for black adolescent males. In addition, black males reported more detachment from

responsibility of preventing births as is shown in Table 5. Thirty-three percent of the black males compared to 23 percent of white males reported that they should not help pay for birth control. This confirms both Stewart and Scott's observations of communal institutional detachment and Anderson's observation of detachment. What is interesting with this finding is that black males reported a more caring attitude in Table 3 where money was not an issue and became "hard and cold", to borrow Oliver's observational expressions, when money became an issue in Table 5.

(Insert Table 6 about here)

Table 6 presents the compulsive masculine percentages on the four-attitudinal items controlling for socioeconomic status. The theoretical expectation was empirically met on the pregnancy would make me feel like a real man item since lower class black males were more likely to agree with that sentiment. It is interesting that lower class white males were more likely than middle and upper class white males to agree with feeling like a real man as a result of pregnancy. On the item I'd feel distance if my girl became pregnant, black and white lower class males responded similarly. What is interesting is that black middle and upper class males' responses were statistically significant when compared to white males on this item. White middle and upper class males felt that they would create more distance than black middle and upper class males if their sexual partners became pregnant. There was a larger difference between middle and upper class black and white males feeling good about premarital pregnancy when compared to the lower class males. However as expected, lower class black males responded with the greatest agreement about feeling good if their sexual mate was to become pregnant. Black males were different than white males of both socioeconomic classes in terms of feeling that they need not take responsibility for helping their sexual partners with birth control.

Discussion

From this sample, it is possible to conclude that the race of an adolescent helps explain black culture-specific attitudes and values associated with reproductive behaviors. A number of researchers have used race as a proxy for a culture of poverty or underclass reproduction (Hall 1980; Miller 1969; Park 1950; Rodman 1963; Wilson 1978). This study suggests that race is more than just a proxy for class. The black middle and upper class adolescents consistently responded differently than white middle and upper

class adolescents. However, there are a number of limitations associated with this study. For one, my analysis is preliminary and uses simple crosstabulation techniques to the problem of racial differences in attitudes and emotions among adolescent males. Much more sophisticated analyses have been accomplished with NSAM. Yet, the kinds of questions that I raised here have not been pursued. Also, it should be kept in mind that the survey methods used by NSAM are intrusive and likely resulted in youth answering some critical questions in ways they perceived to be expected. Future research should maintain an opened line of communication between quantitative and qualitative research related to racial differences between male reproductive attitudes. The works of black scholars should be carefully considered. Also, researchers should be as weary of studies that couch racial minorities in stereotyped language as they are of studies that avoid discussion of racialized constructs.

In this sample, black adolescent males did not have more negative, and pathological, attitudes about reproductive behaviors. There were differences between racial and class groups. In fact, it may be that the general socialization into American manhood is deleterious for attitudes and behaviors between females and males, as was found in the review of the literature presented in this study. Black males are moderately different on all four of the measures.

There are parts of both the Stewart and Scott and Anderson theses that assist in developing a conception of black male gender role. Black adolescent males clearly share different attitudes about sexuality and reproductive roles. The social structure precludes their assimilation into economic, emotional and social security. Institutional effects are not essential and universal effects. One question that comes to mind is the possibility of tracking the differences over time and observing the influence of changes in structural effects.

Notes

1. The four questions were asked in 1990-1991. If I got a female pregnant I would feel like a real man provided four Likert responses: a lot, somewhat, a little, and not at all. To create the dichotomous dummy variable, not at all was coded as 0 while the other responses were coded as 1. All other responses (including inapplicable, don't know and no answer) were sent to system missing data. If I got a female pregnant I would feel closer provided five Likert responses: lot closer to her, a little closer to her, a little less closer, a

lot less close, no different. A lot closer and a little closer were coded as 0 while a little less close and a lot less close were coded as 1. All other responses were sent to system missing data. For the variable how would the respondent feel if he got a female pregnant there were 5 possible responses: very upset, a little upset, a little pleased, very pleased and no different. Very upset and a little upset were coded as 0. A little pleased and very pleased were coded as 1. All other responses were sent to system missing data. Finally, for the item a man should help pay for the pill provided for 4 possible responses: agree a lot, agree a little, disagree a little and disagree a lot. Agree a lot and agree a little was coded as 0. Disagree a little and disagree a lot was coded as 1. All other responses were sent to missing data.

References

Adams, P.L., J.R. Milner and N.A. Schrepf. 1984. *Fatherless Children*. New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Anderson, E. 1989. "Sex Codes and Family Life among Poor Inner-City Youths." *AAPSS* 505(Jan):59-78.

Baldwin, M.L. and W. G. Johnson. 1996. "The Employment Effects of Wage Discrimination against Black Men." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 49(2):302-316.

Bem, S. 1974. "The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 31:155-162.

_____. 1975. "Sex Role Adaptability: One Consequence of Psychological Androgyny." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42:634-643.

Collins, P.H. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hill.

_____. 1998. *Fighting Words: Black Women & The Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Darity, W. and S. L. Myers, Jr. 1995. "Family Structure and the Marginalization of Black Men: Policy Implications." In *The Decline in Marriage among African Americans: Causes, Consequences and Policy Implications*, edited by B. M. Tucker and C. Mitchell-Kernan, 263-308. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Dickson, L. 1993. "The Future of Marriage and Family in Black America." *Journal of Black Studies* 23(4):472-491.

Gilkes, C.T. 1994. "'If It Wasn't for the Women...': African American Women, Community Work, and Social Change." In *Women of Color in U.S. Society*, edited by M.B. Zinn and B.T. Dill, 229-246. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hall, S. 1980. "Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance." In *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism*, edited by UNESCO. Paris: UNESCO.

Hare, N. and J. Hare. 1984. *The Endangered Black Family: Coping with the Unisexualization and Coming Extinction of the Black Race*. San Francisco: Black Think Tank Press.

Jackson, J. 1971. "But Where Are the Men?" *The Black Scholar* (December):30-41.

Jewell, K.S. 1993. *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond: Cultural Images and the Shaping of U.S. Social Policy*. New York: Routledge.

Kagan, J. and H. Moss. 1962. *Birth to Maturity: A Study of Psychological Development*. New York: Wiley

Kalmijin, M. 1993. "Trends in Black White Intermarriage." *Social Forces* 72(1):119-146.

Kimmel, M. 1996. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press.

Kimmel, M.S. and M.A. Messner. 1989. *Men's Lives*. New York: Macmillan.

Lemelle, A. 1995(a). "The Political Sociology of Black Masculinity and Tropes of Domination." *Journal of African American Men* 1(2):35-61.

_____. 1995(b). *Black Male Deviance*. Westport: Praeger.

_____. 1996. "The Other Cyborgs: African-American Male Role and Feminist Theory." In *Advances in Gender Research*, Vol. 1, edited by V. Demos and M.T. Segal, 157-187. Stamford, CT: JAI Press.

Lenney, E. 1991. "Sex Roles: The Measurement of Masculinity, Femininity, and Androgyny." In *Measures of Personality and Social Psychological Attitudes*, edited by J.P. Robinson, P.R. Shaver and L.S. Wrightsman, 573-660. New York: Academic Press.

Lorber, J. 1996. "Beyond the Binaries: Depolarizing the Categories of Sex, Sexuality, and Gender" *Sociological Inquiry* 66(2)143-159.

Majors, R. and J. M. Billson. 1992. *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America*. New York: Lexington Books.

Mercer, K. 1993. "Looking for Trouble." In *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, edited by H. Abelove and others, 553-574. New York: Routledge.

Miller, W. 1969. "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency." *Journal of Social Issues* 14(April):5-19.

Moynihan, D.P. 1965. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Park, R. 1950. *Race and Culture*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Mosher, D.L. 1991. "Macho Men, Machismo, and Sexuality." *Annual Review of Sex Research* 2:199-248.

Oliver, W. 1994. *The Violent Social World of Black Men*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Peplau, L.A., Z Rubin, C.T. Hill. 1977. "Sexual Intimacy in Dating Relatinships." *Journal of Social Issues* 33(2)86-91.

Pleck, J.H. 1981. *The Myth of Masculinity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

_____. 1983. "The Theory of Male Sex Role Identity: Its Rise and Fall, 1936-Present." In *In the Shadow of the Past: Psychology Portrays the Sexes*, edited by M. Lewin, 205-225. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pleck, J.H., F.L. Sonnenstein, L.C. Ku. 1993. "Masculinity Ideology and its Correlates." *In Gender and Social Psychology*, edited by S. Oskamp and M. Costanzo, 85-110. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rodman, H. 1963. "Lower Class Value Structure." *Social Forces* 42(1):205-215.

Rotherman-Borus M.J.and C. Koopman . 1991. "Sexual Risk Behavior, AIDS Knowledge, and Beliefs about AIDS among Predominantly Minority Gay and Bisexual Male Adolescents." *AIDS Education & Prevention* 3(4):305-312.

Samuels, H.P. 1997. "The Relationships among Selected Demographics and Conventional and Unconventional Sexual Behaviors among Black and White Heterosexual Men." *Journal of Sex Research* 34(1):85-92.

Smith, R.A. 1992. "A House Divided...Authority and Income Differentials among Black and White Workers." *CAAS Report* 15(1):19, 27.

Staples, R. 1982. *Black Masculinity: The Black Male's Role in American Society*. San Francisco: Black Scholar Press.

____. 1991. "Black Male Genocide: A Final Solution to the Race Problem in America." In *Black Male Adolescents: Parenting and Education in Community Context*, edited by Benjamin P. Bowser, 39-57. Lanham: University Press of America.

Sonenstein, F.L., J.H. Pleck and L.C. Ku. 1989. "Sexual Activity, Condom Use and AIDS Awareness among Adolescent Males. *Family Planning Perspectives* 21:152-158.

Spence, J.T. 1992. "Gender-related Ideology: Evidence for a Multifactorial Theory." Unpublished paper. University of Texas at Austin.

Spence, J.T. and R.L. Helmreich. 1978. *Masculinity and Femininity: Their Psychological Dimensions, Correlates, and Antecedents*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Stevenson, M. 1991. "Myth, Reality, and Father Absence." *Men's Studies Review* 8:3-8.

Stewart, J.B. and J.W. Scott. 1978. "The Institutional Decimation of Black American Males." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 2:82-92.

Thompson, E.H. 1990. "Courtship Violence and the Male Role." *Men's Studies Review* 7:4-13.

Tucker, B. M. and C. Mitchell-Kernan. 1990. "New Trends in Black American Interracial Marriage: The Social Structural Context." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52(1):209-218.

Wilson, W. J. 1978. *Declining Significance of Race*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____. 1992. "The Plight of the Inner-city Black Male." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 136(3):320-325.

_____. 1997. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. New York: Vintage.

Table 1. Sums, Numbers, and Means on Sex Codes Attitude Items
Black and White Means and Intervals

	Σ	N	$\bar{x}$	Blk $\bar{x}$	Wht $\bar{x}$	Interval**
Pregnancy would make me feel like a real man	446	1268	.37	.45	.26	-.74,-.70*
I'd feel distance if my girl became pregnant	157	1264	.12	.10	.15	-.75,-.70*
I'd feel good about premarital pregnancy	330	1264	.28	.37	.17	-.63,-.61*
I feel I shouldn't help pay for birth control	351	1277	.28	.33	.22	-.90,-.87*

0=no; 1=yes; *p<.01; **95% confidence interval of the difference

Table 2. Crosstabulation of pregnancy would make me feel like a real man

	Black	White	Total
Conventional masculinity	333	489	822
	55%	73.8%	64.8%
Compulsive masculinity	272	174	446
	45%	26.2%	35.2%
Total	605	663	1268
	100%	100%	100%

O=.196; p=.01

Table 3. Crosstabulation of I'd feel distance if my girl became pregnant

	Black	White	Total
Conventional masculinity	541	566	1107
	89.9%	85.5%	87.6%
Compulsive masculinity	61	96	157
	10.1%	14.5%	12.4%
Total	602	662	1264
	100%	100%	100%

O=-.066, p<.019

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 4. Crosstabulation of I'd feel good about premarital pregnancy

	Black	White	Total
Conventional masculinity	381	553	934
	63.5%	83.3%	73.9%
Compulsive masculinity	219	111	330
	36.5%	16.7%	26.1%
Total	600	664	1264
	100%	100%	100%

O=.225; p<.01

Table 5. Crosstabulation of I feel I shouldn't help pay for birth control

	Black	White	Total
Conventional masculinity	405	521	926
	66.9%	77.5%	72.5%
Compulsive masculinity	200	151	351
	33.1%	22.5%	27.5%
Total	605	672	1277
	100%	100%	100%

O=.118; p=.01

Table 6. Percent compulsive masculinity attitudinal responses by race and socioeconomic status

Lower socioeconomic status (<$19,999 family income)	***Black***	***White***
Pregnancy would make me feel like a real man	47.7%	33.6%*
I'd feel distance if my girl became pregnant	11.1	11.2
I'd feel good about premarital pregnancy	38.5	26.7*
I feel I shouldn't help pay for birth control	31	25
Middle and upper socioeconomic status (>$20,000 family income)	***Black***	***White***
Pregnancy would make me feel like a real man	39.2%	24%*
I'd feel distance if my girl became pregnant	9.8	15.4**
I'd feel good about premarital pregnancy	32.1	14.2*
I feel I shouldn't help pay for birth control	36	22.1*

*p<.01; **p<.05